**POLI341 -001  Foreign Policy: Middle East**  
McGill University, Winter 2020 Semester

**Professor:**  
Daniel Douek, PhD  
email: daniel.douek@mcgill.ca  
Office: Ferrier 460

**Course Meetings:**  
**Lectures:** Mondays and Wednesdays 4:05-5:25PM, CMPSU1 109 - Lectures will end at 4:55 starting the week of January 20  
**TA Conferences:** TBA- each student must register on Minerva for one weekly TA conference; conferences will begin on week of January 20

**Teaching Assistants:**  
Zameer Hussaini - email: zameer.hussaini@mail.mcgill.ca  
Shhreyaa Mande - shhreyaa.mande@mail.mcgill.ca

**Course Description:**  
Why is the Middle East a region of constant turmoil? What factors determine states’ foreign policies in this combustible region? This class explores the Middle East through the lenses of international relations theory. We will study regional dynamics of conflict and alliance, as well the roles of key international actors and how they have shaped the region during key processes such as state formation, the Cold War, the post-9/11 War on Terror, and the current civil war in Syria. We will also interrogate widespread Western perceptions of Middle Eastern peoples and politics, and these perceptions’ sources and impacts.

**Please note that this class will not be covering Middle Eastern domestic politics, covered in POLI340; and we will devote minimal time to the Israel-Palestine conflict, covered in POLI347. Also, whereas the Middle East has been stretched in the post-9/11 American imaginary to encompass Afghanistan and Pakistan, these are not actually in the Middle East, so we will not be studying them very much.**

**Course Readings:**  
- **Required:** Louise Fawcett, ed., *International Relations of the Middle East* (Fifth Edition), Oxford University Press, 2019 (the Fourth Edition of this textbook, from 2016, is also acceptable) – referred to below as “Fawcett”  
A coursepack with readings not available in electronic format, for purchase at the bookstore.  
-All readings not in the Fawcett textbook or coursepack will be made available via MyCourses, or as an e-book via the McGill library.  
*Recommended readings are not mandatory;* they are intended to give you further perspective, and to serve as suggested sources for your research essay.

**Requirements**  
**Come to class prepared:** Do all the assigned readings before class. This is important in order
for you to be able to follow the lectures, which will build on (rather than just review) the readings, and for participation in your conferences.

**Attend class and take notes:** The lectures will not be recorded, and they will go far beyond the material in the textbook, so you will need to absorb and retain the lecture contents in order to succeed.

**Check the course website regularly:** I will post announcements and other key features of the course on MyCourses. I will remind you about this in class, but it is your responsibility to keep up with any and all online aspects of the course.

**Keep up with the news:** You’ll get more out of this class if you read the news regularly. Good news sources on the Middle East include Al-Jazeera, Haaretz, New York Times, BBC World, the Nation, the Financial Times, The Guardian, Washington Post, the Economist, Foreign Policy, among others.

**Course Assessment:**

**CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION (10%):** This includes attendance and participation in conference discussions and reflects both quality and quantity. **Please note:** You will lose the entire 10% if you have more than 3 unjustified conference absences.

**IN-CLASS MIDTERM (25%):** The midterm exam will be held in class on 24 February, from 4:05-5:25pm; format to be announced in class.

**RESEARCH ESSAY (35%):** The essay should be 10-12 double-spaced pages. I will post suggested essay topics on MyCourses before the mid-semester break. The essay is due in class on Wednesday 18 March. You are welcome to choose your own essay topic, but in that case, make sure to get your TA to approve the topic beforehand. I will post an essay-writing guide on MyCourses, which you should follow carefully, and which will contain information about how to structure your essay.

**FINAL EXAM (30%):** To be scheduled by the University during the final exam period.

**PLEASE NOTE:** Late work submitted without a doctor’s note will be accepted with a penalty of 10% per day late. Excuses without a doctor’s note will not be accepted.

**Make-up assignments** will be offered only if a student misses an exam for a valid medical reason backed up by a doctor’s note. Please note that the grading scheme cannot be changed if you are unhappy with your grade and wish to complete a supplementary assignment for extra credit, or to have future work count for a greater percentage of your final grade. This would be unfair to the rest of the class.

It is the student’s responsibility to complete course work on time – printer issues and other technical malfunctions will not be taken as a valid excuse. Make sure to back up your work!

**Fair Warnings:** Lateness is disruptive. Please do not arrive to class late. You may take notes on a laptop computer but be sure to switch off your ringer and put away all cell phones and other electronics before the start of class. **Texting and using social media in the classroom is incredibly disruptive** for students and teacher alike; I ask you all to refrain from electronically distracting yourselves, and in return, I pledge to make our class as riveting as I possibly can.

**Students with disabilities:** As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and with the Office for Students with Disabilities, which can be
reached at 514-398-6009.

**Plagiarism:** Plagiarism is a very serious offence. **If you have any questions whatsoever about what constitutes plagiarism, please come see me at my office hours or email me.** The University also has a comprehensive set of guidelines about how to avoid plagiarism, including a warning about consequences. Read the statement below:

*McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures* (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information). (approved by Senate on 29 January 2003)

« L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par triche, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/). »

Also:

*In accord with McGill University’s Charter of Students’ Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.*” (Approved by Senate on 21 January 2009 - see also the section in this document on Assignments and evaluation.)

« Conformément à la Charte des droits de l’étudiant de l’Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l’un des objets est la maîtrise d’une langue). »

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

**SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS**

**Week 1 (6 & 8 January): Studying the Middle East**
- Fawcett, “Introduction”
- Marc Lynch, “Can there be an ethical Middle East political science?” Washington Post
  (Monkey Cage Blog) 3 July 2014

**Recommended:**
Week 2 (13 & 15 January): Forming and Knowing Middle Eastern States
-Rogan, “The Emergence of the Middle East into the Modern State System” (Fawcett Ch.2, p.39)

Week 3 (20 & 22 January): The Cold War
-Sluglett and Payne, “The Cold War in the Middle East” (Fawcett Ch.3, p.63)
-Dannreuther, “Russia, China, and the Middle East” (Fawcett Ch.17, pp.394-402 ONLY)

Recommended:
Mark Gasiorowski, “The CIA Looks Back at the 1953 Coup,” Middle East Report, Fall 2000
-CIA documents on the 1953 coup obtained by the New York Times

Week 4 (27 & 29 January): Gender

Recommended:
Sophie Richter-Devroe. 2009. “‘Here It’s Not about Conflict Resolution- We Can Only Resist’: Palestinian Women’s Activism in Conflict Resolution and Non-Violent Resistance” Ch.5 in Nusair et al., Women and War in the Middle East: Transnational Perspectives (London: Zed Books)
-Simona Sharoni. 2012. “Gender and Conflict Transformation in Israel/Palestine” Journal of International Women’s Studies Vol.13 No.4 (September), pp.113-128

Week 5 (3 & 5 February): Identity and Religion
-Hinnesbusch, “The Politics of Identity in Middle East IR” (Fawcett Ch.7, p.158)
-Mandaville, “Islam and International Relations in the Middle East: From Umma to Nation State” (Fawcett Ch.8, p.176)
Recommended:
Gregory Gause, “Sovereignty, Statecraft, and Stability in the Middle East,” Journal of
International Affairs 45.2 (Winter 1992), 441-67.
Michael N. Barnett, “Nationalism, Sovereignty, and Regional Order in Arab Politics,”

Week 6 (10 & 12 February): The Persian Gulf as a Security Region
-Legrenzi, “The International Politics of the Gulf” (Fawcett Ch.14, p.317)
-Takeyh, Ray. 2010. “The Iran-Iraq War: A Reassessment” Middle East Journal 64 (3) 365-83
Recommended:
Gause, G. 2002. “Iraq’s Decision to Go to War, 1980 and 1990” Middle East Journal Vol.56
No.1, pp.47-70
Gause III, F. Gregory. 2010. The International Relations of the Persian Gulf Cambridge:
Cambridge University Press.
Daniel Brumberg, “Reinventing the Islamic Republic of Iran,” Foreign Policy (February 2014).

Week 7 (17 & 19 February): The US and Europe in the Middle East
-Hudson, “The United States in the Middle East” (Fawcett, Ch.16, p.368)
- National Security Directive 54, ordering the U.S. attack on Iraq, 1990 (from the National
Security Archive)
-Hollis, “Europe in the Middle East” (Fawcett, Ch.18, p.415)
Recommended:
Volker Perthes, “Europe and the Arab Spring,” Survival: Global Politics and Strategy 53.6
(2011), 73-84.
Mitchell Bard, “The Arab Lobby: The American Component,” Middle East Quarterly XVII: 4
(Fall 2010), pp. 3-15.
Marc Lynch, “What the Libyan Intervention Achieved,” ForeignPolicy.com, October 27, 2011
James Bill and Rebecca Bill Chavez, “The Politics of Incoherence: The United States and the
Michael Hudson, “Imperial Headaches: Managing Unruly Regions in an Age of Globalization”,
Charles Kegley and Gregory Raymond, Chapter 7 “The Persian Gulf War: A Hollow Victory”,
in Kegley and Raymond, From War to Peace: Fateful Decisions in International Politics, St.

Week 8 (24 & 26 February):
24 February: Midterm Exam in Class: Covers all material up to and including Week 7
26 February: Nations and Statelessness: the Kurds
-Soguk, Nevzat. 2015. “With/Out a State, Kurds Rising: The Un/Stated Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq” Globalizations, 12:6, 957-968

Recommended:
-Ross, Norbert, and Ahmad Mohammadpur. 2018. “Imagined or Real: The Intersection of Tribalism and Nationalism in the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG)” British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 45 (2): 194-211

Week 9 (2-6 March): NO CLASS – Mid-semester Break - Enjoy!

Week 10: (9 & 11 March): 9/11 and “Operation Iraqi Freedom”

Recommended:
-National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (9/11 Commission), Final Report, Chapter 2

Week 11: (16 & 18 March): The Arab Spring and its Impacts
-Sadiki, “The Arab Spring: The People in International Relations” (Fawcett, Ch.15, p.339)
-Korany, “The Multi-Layered (In)Security Dilemma” (Fawcett, Ch.4, p.80)
Recommended:
Kenneth Pollack, “America’s Second Chance and the Arab Spring,” ForeignPolicy.com, December 5, 2011

Week 12 (23 & 25 March): Securitization and the “New Middle East Cold War”
-Calculi, “The Politics of Violence after the 2003 Iraq War” (Fawcett Ch.10, p.226)
-Gause, F. Gregory. 2014. “Beyond Sectarianism: The New Middle East Cold War” Brookings Doha Centre Analysis Paper No.11 (July)

Recommended:
Marc Lynch, “The Arab Cold War,” chapter 2 in The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East, (Public Affairs, 2012)
-Shahram Chubin, The Politics of Iran's Nuclear Program
Garrett Nada Trump and Iran in 2017
Dexter Filkins “A Saudi Prince’s Quest to Remake the Middle East” New Yorker 9 April 2018

Week 13 (30 March & 1 April): The Emergence of Daesh/IS/ISIL/ISIS

Recommended:
Week 14 (6 & 8 April): International Dimensions of the Syrian Civil War

- Dannreuther, “Russia, China, and the Middle East” (Fawcett Ch.17, pp.403-414 ONLY)

Recommended:
McLeary, Paul. 2015. “American Commandos Hit the Ground in Syria” *Foreign Policy* 17 December
Byman, Daniel, and Bilal Saab. 2015. “Hezbollah Hesitates?” *Foreign Affairs* 21 January

***Final Exam to be scheduled by the University***